645
204 of affairs; it was a spectacle, it was "news", and what was no
208 less attractive a social occasion of the first magnitude. The élite of Aden society were there and the editors were not left out, but when the tumult had died down and the multitude departed, the editors, who were often their own reporters, were found to have gone as well.

619 It must not be imagined that real feeling about the political
[665] future of the Colony was non-existent. There were many people who were, in fact, seriously concerned, and a number of individuals looked forward to the time when they would be able to have a greater share in the control of their own affairs, but at that time there was nothing in the nature of a "party", as we understand the term in this country, inspired with nationalist ideas in any section of the community.

• 177 The Arab awakening was being accelerated by the rapid
668 educational developments in the Colony and by the radio; the
[204] first a good influence, the second poisonous to young minds
[208] with its half-truths, anti-British propaganda and reports of riots and students' demonstrations, which were such a feature of those years. The first phase of this awakening was the realisation that with few exceptions the worthwhile work in the Colony was in the hands of foreigners to Aden, and the younger generation began to wonder and to ask why strangers had the cream of the employment while they had to make do
464 with what was left. Mercifully the trade expansion after the war was creating fresh employment daily and there was work for every employable lad on leaving school, and I regret to say, very often before he should have left school. The murmuring did not go unheeded by the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council and we warned Government that there would be trouble unless the rights of local men and women to priority in employment, provided they were capable of doing the work, were recognised both by Government and by the employers. The warning was heeded by Government, but not by some of the "foreign" employers who claimed, not without reason, that the local article was not up to the standard of the imported. These employers continued to take advantage of a surplus of semi-skilled workers in India, which had been

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First Acquaintance with the Protectorate

The people are, as I was quick to realise after I had seen and spoken to the tribesman at the Khormaksar races, independent and virile, and later I was to find that they did not lack a sense of humour. In the Highlands they dress, even to this day, in blue cotton kilts which reach to the knee, leaving the upper part of the body bare, except for the vegetable oil and blue dye with which they rub their skin as a protection against the sun in summer and the cold in winter. The kilt is held in place by a leather cartridge belt which in turn supports a dagger, generally with a silver scabbard. A rifle and a pair of leather sandals complete the picture, except in the Colony where rifles and daggers, except for the privileged few, have to be surrendered to authority on entrance, and may not be carried on the person. In the Colony, too, and indeed in the more developed areas of the Protectorate, the blue kilt has given place to brightly coloured kilts made from silk and cotton cloth imported from Indonesia and India, and the blue dye and oil have been replaced by shirts and coats, and indeed, by collars and ties and trousers when the owners have come to this country either on business or for pleasure.

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2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1
Yemen ML1

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more civilised the people became the more difficult would it be for him at some future date to impose his will upon them, and partly because he feared the reaction of the Sha'afi majority in the Yemen to the improvements which were manifest in the Protectorate and which contrasted sharply with conditions in their own country.

There was nothing new in the methods that the Imam used to interrupt progress in the Protectorate, which varied from promoting frontier raids and hiring assassins to formal protests to our diplomatic representative at Taiz, or directly through his Minister to the Foreign Office in London, claiming, as he did, that every new school and every new road which was opened in the Protectorate was a breach of what had come to be known as the *status quo* Article of the Treaty of 1934. You see, although the old Imam most certainly understood clearly that Article 3 of the Treaty of 1934 referred solely to the frontier position, his son chose to interpret the Article as referring to the whole of the Protectorate, thus to his understanding the *status quo* included any form of change, such as the Federation proposals as a major example, to the opening of a new school or dispensary as a minor example. He protested and protested, but these protests were the least of the troubles that this tiresome fellow contrived to create. In spite, however, of all his efforts progress did not come to an end and it continued, even when the rich diet of slander provided by the Egyptian radio propaganda caused some slight biliousness in the more settled and prosperous areas bordering on the Colony.

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The Imam Ahmad was not the only critic of our Protectorate policy. There were others nearer home who, like all critics, became most vociferous when things were going badly. There were some who said that too much was being attempted, and others that too little was being done, and in the Protectorate itself there were a number of people who had misgivings every time there was a set-back, but fortunately the majority of the Rulers and their people realised that the task which had been undertaken could not be accomplished by a gentle stroll up the hill of progress. It was going to be a stiff, hard climb with very nearly as many downs as ups, but what mattered was not the

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

incident of travel but the overall progress that was made and that was, all things considered, reasonably satisfactory.

Progress throughout the area would have been more speedy and more spectacular if it had been possible to observe the old proverb in our dealings with some of the Rulers that "to spare the rod is to spoil the child". Children some of them were, and Teddy Boys were not lacking among their subjects, and while I agree that it is better whenever possible to lead children, there are times when even the most amiable child must be coerced in its own interest, and I have never faltered in my opinion that an ash plant, properly applied, is one of the few things that is effective in dealing with young thugs in this or any other country.

I think I can best give a general idea of the people of the Protectorate by describing briefly some of the journeys which I made to some of the States, and some of the people I met. These journeys are typical of what, during my term of office, were certainly monthly occurrences and for periods at a time were a weekly event. No one can hope to govern successfully unless he knows the people, and what is more important, they know him, so that whenever time allowed I toured formally and informally every part of the Protectorate, except Upper Yafa, to which neither I nor the Imam could gain access.

DHALA

Shortly after I became Governor I decided to pay another visit to the Amirate of Dhala, and one morning I drove myself in my Land-Rover, accompanied by a few Government Guards, across the desert to Lahej and on through the Haushabi country up into the foothills of the Amirate. Just below the final ascent up to the Dhala tableland I was met by the Naib, or Deputy Ruler. He was not a very exciting-looking person, being under middle height, very thin and having some congenital infirmity which caused him to drag one foot, but however unprepossessing his outward appearance, there was no doubt about his stoutness of heart or his loyalty, and his ability to ride up and down the hills of his homeland was quite

245 camel from the high hills of the interior. Coffee will not grow below 4,000 ft. at the latitude of Aden and the Yemen.

244 Away to the east on the Audhali plateau and in the other
243 high regions, wheat and barley are cultivated by well water
312 irrigation from shallow wells, and apricot trees grow naturally
245 among the fields and grape vines run over the trees that border the grassy valleys. Much attention has been given to increasing the fruit cultivation and to the growing of tomatoes and other vegetables in the summer time when the low lying plains are [177] far too hot. Plums and apples and peaches and walnuts have been introduced successfully, and lower down citrus cultivation has had surprisingly good results. Originally, of course, the idea was that these fruits and vegetables would be available to the Colony markets and to a certain extent this has proved to be true, but no-one anticipated the extent to which local consumption of vegetables and fruit would increase in the Protectorate itself. It is extraordinary how quickly people will develop a taste for new varieties of vegetables, as I had found in Muscat when I first introduced cabbages. Nobody had seen them before and at first I had to give them away and persuade people to eat them, but it was not long before they came and helped themselves. It was much the same in the Protectorate with lettuce, which was looked upon with distrust when I first travelled to Loder and Mukeiras, but by the time I left twenty-five years later no meal was complete without a dish of salad.

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243 Down in the plains the main crops are sorghum and bullrush
262 millet which grow throughout the Protectorate and provide the staple diet of the people who grind and pound the grain into coarse flour from which they make a very palatable unleavened bread. Where water is available in sufficient quantity
245 as at Lahej and in the Wadi Hadhrami, there are extensive
312 date-palm plantations and bananas, and other Eastern fruits are
244 cultivated with particular emphasis on the melons which flourish abundantly and are of excellent quality.

241 Two things have handicapped agricultural development in
441 the Protectorate. The first of these is lack of money and the second lack of a suitable marketing organisation. The power to

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

new displacing the old is an inevitable process and provided it is done at a reasonable pace need not be disturbing and is often imperceptible. It is the speed of change which matters, and that is what caused the trouble in the Protectorate. In England the change from horse-drawn transport to motor transport took twenty years or more and there was ample time for readjustment. In Aden it took as many days from the time a new major road was open to motor traffic, and the unemployed camel men sat nursing their rifles and wondering how to prevent their animals and themselves from starving. It was not long before they noticed the weapon in their hands and commenced to use it to drive the lorries off the roads. The State and Political Authorities intervened before too much damage was done and negotiations resulted in agreements which restricted the use of lorries to named kinds of merchandise, and so time was gained for readjustment.

The Eastern Aden Protectorate was more affected than the Western by road development and on more than one occasion troops had to be used to persuade the camel men and their friends to be sensible and not to interfere with the lorry traffic which might have had very serious consequences. The Wadi Hadhramaut, that vast cut through the limestone plateau of the Jöl filled with palm groves and white-walled towns, peopled by the most astute and the hardest business men in the world, was subject to droughts which twice in living memory had led to famine: the reason for this had been that the whole irrigation system depended on the availability of bullocks to draw water from the shallow wells and when, during the droughts, the corn crops had failed, the animals had either to be fed on seed grain or be left to die of starvation; in the former case it meant that when the rains did come, there was no seed to sow, in the latter that there were no animals to draw water. The solution was to eliminate the dependence on bullocks and make available to farmers and date garden owners small diesel pumps with which to irrigate their land. They paid cash for the pumps if they could, or if they couldn't they put down a deposit and paid the balance in monthly instalments. A maintenance service, based on a central workshop, which had been set

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

up at Saiyun by the Quaiti and Kathiri States, was provided and was controlled by one of Hugh Boustead's young men. Diesel oil was essential for the pumps and it had to be brought from the coast at Mukalla by lorry, and so it was that the camel men, however disgruntled they might be, must not be allowed to damage the roads or impede the oil lorries.

The pump scheme was supplemented by grain stores set up in the main towns and larger villages and regularly inspected to ensure that the grain had been properly rotated. At each harvest new grain was bought and the old grain sold, thus keeping the stocks fresh. Mercifully all went well with the rainfall during my tour of duty and we did not have to put our anti-famine measures to the test.

I cannot leave the subject of development without making a brief reference to the political side. In most States in the Western area of the Protectorate the old form of complete autocratic government has given place to government by the Ruler with the advice of a Council, and in some States the next stage of development of Councils with executive powers has been reached, while in Lahej there is the further refinement of a Legislative Council. Generally speaking these Western innovations where they exist are only in the kindergarten stage and the Ruler is still the central figure upon whose personality the Government of the State really depends. For instance, there is one important State which has no Council at all, but a very able Ruler who governs justly and firmly and whose finances are in a sound condition; while another and larger State has the whole façade of modern governmental institutions but a Ruler whose real interests are elsewhere and his people do not fare so well and the State's finances would mystify the most astute of accountants. The personality of the Ruler is still of paramount importance, but change is coming swiftly.

In the Eastern area the main progress has been made in the centre, where in the Quaiti and Kathiri States administrations have been firmly established and even Town Councils are functioning with reasonable efficiency. These States have been lucky in having Rulers who had the good sense to pay heed to their able advisers. In the two outlying States, the Wahidi

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

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ing eager purchasers to make a satisfactory choice of a political garment and altering the model to suit their particular figure. It was just with this purpose in view that the Federation plan was conceived.

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In all the Western and Middle Eastern countries outside the Iron Curtain, with the exception of the temporary experiment in Egypt and the last remnant of the patriarchal conception in Saudi Arabia, governments are fundamentally democratic whether the head of State be designated Queen, King, or President, and Aden looks Westwards for guidance and inspiration.

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The contacts between the nineteenth-century Aden Protectorate and the West are daily becoming closer. Incessant broadcasts from London, Cairo and Aden itself, very different though they may be in their political approach, bring the modern West and modern Middle East into the remotest villages of the Protectorate. At the same time roads and landing grounds—of the latter there are at least eight with regular Civil Airline services, made possible by better security—have changed the mode of travel from the camel and the donkey to the lorry and the aeroplane and thereby greatly accelerated and increased personal contact with the outside world, and thus with people with Western ideas.

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In Aden Colony there are 38,000 Arabs from the Protectorate in close contact with a democratic form of government, many of whom exercise their voting right when elections to the Legislative and Municipal Councils take place. These people have become accustomed to a democratic system of government, not only in Aden, but also in countries in the West to which many of them travel. When they return to their Protectorate homes, which many of them do at frequent intervals, they find the old-fashioned autocratic rule of their Sheikh or Sultan irksome. They would like at home what they have become used to abroad, an ever-increasing say in the government of the country. At present these people are in the minority, but it will not be long before the wish of the few becomes the demand of the majority, and the wisest of the Protectorate Rulers are ready and willing to accept change and bow before the inevitable.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1
Yemen ML1

Conclusion

If Aden were to exert itself to become the cultural capital of the area of which it is the centre, it could attract all that is best in that area to it, and they could take back the best that British culture could offer them. For in Aden, if anywhere, is the chance for Arab culture and British culture to mix on equal terms and to produce something worth while.

I think it is apparent from what we have seen of South-West Arabia that British culture and Western education alone are not going to make a strong appeal to the principal elements in the country, and in many ways it would be dangerous to give too much of it undiluted. It is by no means clear how many people with a Western education the W.A.P. is going to be able to absorb, and discontented educated people unsuitably employed can very well create trouble and discontent by no means divine. The Yemen is afraid of too much Western education and a Zeidi Government will do all it can to discourage it.

Taking the country as a whole, there are first of all the very fertile highlands of the Yemen, where almost any temperate crop could be grown; lower down are the mountains of the 4,000- to 6,000-foot level, mostly barren but with good cultivable areas; and then there is the huge area of desert mountain and coastal plain with only occasional oases. The Yemeni highlands are the preserve of the Zeidis, a most exclusive people. The rest of the country is mostly populated by settled and nomadic tribesmen of Shafi'i persuasion, with here and there in the Yemen and the Hadhramaut large towns with an urban population and commercial or cultural interests. About a fifth of the population of the Hadhramaut are seiyids. The whole of this area, whether independent Yemen or protected chiefdoms, is independent minded and places Islamic culture far above any other, and we for our part have no desire to threaten its independence or its culture.

The academies of the Yemen and Hadhramaut are poorly endowed, but they are always full with students, who live on a starvation diet in order to get their education. As another pointer to the demand for Arab culture, look at the three bookshops of Aden. In them it is possible to buy most of the great Arab classics of the Abbasid period and Arab Spain. All the shopkeepers tell me they find their best buyers among up-country visitors; the young men of Aden buy, when they buy anything, modern books and translations of novels from the Cairo presses.

If we provided Western education only, it would in the end attract people to it, but the risks of doing this are considerable. Has Western education been an unqualified success elsewhere in the East? There is no space to discuss this much-discussed question here, but I think on the whole it is safe to say that there are a good many who would agree that there are aspects of what we have done which are open to criticism and that the results of it all have not on the whole been too happy.

Considering, therefore, what was achieved by the culture centres of old, such as Cairo, Baghdad, and Damascus, and that the south has never had a cultural centre to compare with them, and considering that there is much we can offer of our own culture which need not be destructive of Arab

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
ADEN MM1

long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage. An energetic Agricultural Officer appointed by the Colonial Office has initiated experiments that are producing very promising results on the Audhali plateau to the north-east of Aden, and in other districts where water is available for irrigation. Medical and educational progress is as yet only in its initial stage, but a beginning has been made in the establishment of local dispensaries, and the institution at Aden of a Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs has met with encouraging success.

It is a fundamental principle of our policy in the Aden Protectorate that the Arab character of the country must be preserved. In this respect the Protectorate differs from the colony of Aden, which it adjoins. The colony is a small territory comprising the town and port of Aden; and, although the majority of its inhabitants are Arabs, it has long been a cosmopolitan community, in which Europeans, Indians, Jews, and Somalis mingle with the Arabs in friendly co-operation and a common loyalty to the British Crown and administration. The Protectorate, on the other hand, is recognized to be wholly Arab country. There is no intention on the part of the British Government to annex any part of it or to introduce any direct British administration. Our ambition and our hope are to produce in Southern Arabia an example of friendly and willing British and Arab co-operation, in which we give the best we can in the shape of advice and technical help without disturbing the national characteristics of the people. All efforts at reform are fated to meet with opposition from some quarters, and especially from those that are interested in the maintenance of old abuses, and our experience in the Aden Protectorate is no exception in this respect. On the whole, however, we have received a cordial, and often an eager, response. British officers working in Aden and the Protectorate have been rewarded not only with understanding and support, but also with liking and friendship that have bound them by personal ties to these Arabs, who have so much in common with the British in their individualism, their adventurousness, their humour, and their love of freedom. Now, when the Empire is at war and is passing through critical days, it is a pleasure and an encouragement to see the spontaneous loyalty and affection that have been displayed by the people of Aden reflected also in the Protectorate that we so long neglected but are now at last trying sincerely to befriend. In the towns and in remote villages in the mountains the people have gathered in their mosques to pray for British victory. Their friendship did not falter in the dark days of last summer, and now that victories have